



MALT-TAX.

My readers are aware that I have, for many years, contended that this tax was the most mischievous thing existing in the country; and, being in Parliament, they would have expected that I should do my utmost to get it repealed and abolished. I did my utmost during the last session of Parliament; and I am now about to lay before my readers in general, and my constituents in particular, an account of what has been done, as to this matter, during the present session of Parliament, and particularly the part which I have taken in the discussions relative to it.

On the 27. Feb. Sir William Ingilby made a motion for the House to go into a committee of the whole House, to consider whether there ought to be a repeal, partial and entire, of this mischief-doing tax. I spoke upon that occasion, against the further continuance of the tax; but I did not vote, because the motion was not direct, and because it was not positive as to a repeal of the whole of the tax. There was, upon that occasion, a division, when there were 170 for the motion, and 271 against it.

Things standing thus, and I, seeing the ground all forestalled until the 27. of May, gave notice that I would make a motion on that day, for a repeal of the whole of that tax; but, upon further consideration, I withdrew that notice, and fixed the notice for a similar motion on the 17. of March, to be made upon the motion for the House to go into a committee of supply. My motion was, "Resolved, that it is expedient, that from

"and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and determine." This motion I made on the 17. of March; and this motion was decided in the manner hereafter to be described. It would be irksome to myself, as well as to my readers, for me to be in the habit of reporting my own speeches in the *Register*; but, this is a subject of such vast importance, that I shall give as correct a report as I can, of the speech made upon this occasion, and also an analysis of what other gentlemen said in the same debate. I shall put the speeches one after the other, just as they occurred, giving them all with as much accuracy as my pen will enable me to do it, with assistance of the reports in the newspapers.

Mr. COBBETT: Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a motion to the House, for the total repeal of the malt-tax, which motion is in the following words: "Resolved, that it is expedient that from and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and determine."

Certainly, sir, such a motion ought not to be submitted to the House, without reasons given for the measure of which it proposes the adoption; and yet, to give those reasons will require the consumption of a much larger portion of the time of the House, than I shall like to call upon it to bestow; but, when duty bids me to proceed, and reluctance to occupy the time of the House would draw me back, I feel myself under the necessity of obeying the former.

Before I proceed to the reasons which I deem more than sufficient for the total repeal of this tax, it is my duty to endeavour to remove two very gross and mischievous errors, which, from what we have heard recently in this House, appear to me to be generally prevalent throughout the country; or, at least, amongst almost the whole of those who are prominent in discussing political affairs.

The first of these errors is, that the landlords, the farmers, and all the persons immediately concerned in the cultivation of the land, would be exclusively benefited by the repeal of these duties; and that the inhabitants of towns are very little interested in the matter; that they have an interest in the repeal of the house and window-tax, but that they have scarcely any interest at all in the repeal of this tax; that the tax being taken off, the honourable Member for Bridport recently told us, would only be so much money put into the pockets of the landlords, who would be the sole persons that would gain by the change.

An error so monstrous as this, has scarcely ever found its way into the human mind. What, sir! do not the people in towns, and, particularly, the hard-working people in towns, drink beer? And, is not their beer made of malt, as well as the beer of the country-people? The fact is, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be greatly more beneficial to the tradesmen and workmen in towns, than the repeal of the house and window-tax, both put together. Seldom do working people pay any part of the house-tax or window-tax; but the malt-tax lies heavily on them all, causing their beer, which is absolutely necessary to them, to cost more than twice as much as it would cost if there were no tax upon malt. Further, nineteen twentieths of the tradesmen, though they may pay from three pounds to twelve pounds a year, on account of house and window-tax, pay, on an average, a great deal more on account of the malt-tax.

This gross error is, then, backed up by another, if possible still more gross; namely, that the persons owning, occupying, labouring upon, and deriving their subsistence out of, the land, are a mere nothing in number, compared with those who are employed in manufactures, trade, and commerce, and, especially, in manufactures. The right honourable Member for Manchester has called upon us to thank God, that England was the great manufacturing shop of the world; the noble Lord, who is one of the representatives of the West-riding of Yorkshire, calls those who are hostile to

the corn laws, the body of the people; the honourable Member for Middlesex has told us, that this is now a manufacturing nation, and that England was poor before it was a manufacturing nation. I wish, sir, that the honourable member for Middlesex had drawn a little upon his store-house of knowledge, and had named the time when England was poor, and when she was not a manufacturing nation. I state, sir, without fear of contradiction from that honourable Member or any other, that England was always the richest, and always the most manufacturing nation in the world.

The ground-work of this great error with regard to the number engaged in the different pursuits, are and have been for many years, the population returns, laid before this House, which, by reckoning all persons as manufacturers, traders, &c., except the mere occupiers and workers upon the land; that is to say, except the mere husbandmen, the ploughmen, the reapers, the mowers, the thrashers, and woodmen; by considering all these as not belonging to agriculture, have led to the conclusion that the husbandmen and all belonging to the land, are a mere handful, compared with the rest of the community. I can give an instance with regard to the village of BORLEY, a village in Hampshire, with which I am well acquainted. The return states, that there are fifty-five families belonging to agriculture, forty-four to manufactures, trade, &c., and thirty-five of all other sorts. Now I take upon me to assert, that there is not a soul in that parish, who is not either husbandman, miller, or tanner; the miller to grind the corn; the tanner to dress the hides; or, parson or doctor: the parson collects the great and small tithes of the parish, and he lives upon them; the doctor bleeds and sets the bones of the husbandmen; and as to other sorts of persons, there are none, who are not employed in purchasing the produce of the land, or in selling clothing or other necessities, to those who raise that produce.

To the parishes of THURSLEY and WHITLEY, in Surrey, are ascribed eighty-three families, engaged in trade, manu-

factures, commerce, &c. If the hon. Member for West Surrey were in his place, who lives in one of those parishes, which are united by law, I would ask him, what sort of manufacture these eighty-three families carry on; from what foreign country they receive the raw material upon which they work; to what foreign country they export the produce of their looms or their other ingenious contrivances? Sir, these returns make up a mass of fallacies such as never were before heard of in the world: in these two parishes, there is not a single soul (except, perchance, there may be a fundholder or two) who is not either husbandman, wheelwright, blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, or who does not follow some pursuit or other, immediately connected with the land; not a soul who could live upon the spot for a week, if there were no produce arising out of the produce of the land of those two parishes.

But, sir, there is one instance which is quite conclusive as to this point; and the matter can be settled at once, by only three words from an hon. Member whom I see sitting on the opposite benches. There is a parish in Surrey called Wanborough, and the return tells us that it contains twenty families chiefly employed in agriculture, and one family chiefly employed in commerce, manufactures, &c. Now, sir, there sits the hon. Member for Guildford, in Surrey; he is the sole proprietor of all the houses and all the land in this parish of Wanborough; and I call upon him to have the goodness to tell us whether this family of manufacturers have any connexion with foreign parts, or whether their manufacture consists in making or new laying of ploughshares for his farms, and of shoes for the horses which work upon those farms! Short-sighted, indeed, must that man be, who cannot see far enough to know, that these manufacturers are husbandmen in fact, just as much as those who plough and reap and mow and thrash out the corn. Yet these ridiculous fallacies have led to the mischievous conclusions which we have heard in this House; they have led the right hon. Member for Manchester to

tell us, that there are nine hundred thousand families only, belonging to the land, while there are fourteen hundred thousand families belonging to manufactures and trade.

The hon. Member for Marybonne has frequently asserted the great populousness of the borough which he has the honour to represent; and, when speaking of what he has been pleased to call the oppressions of the corn laws, he has invariably represented his numerous constituents as having an interest distinct and independent, relative to the part of the community, immediately and obviously concerned in the land. The returns tell us, that there are, in the borough of MARYBONNE, a hundred and forty-three persons, chiefly employed in agriculture; that is to say, in the gardens and the hay-fields, which lie on the outskirts of the borough or parish; but is this all? I verily believe, that I speak very far within compass, when I say that there are a thousand families; and I think I might say, thousands of families, all the males of which are employed, and solely employed, in making and selling ploughs, harrows, drags, drills, chaff-cutters, butter-churns, cheese-presses, spades, prongs, rakes, sieves, locks, and other implements, tools and necessities for husbandry. Were there no husbandry, these people would not be in the borough of Marybonne; and were the land to produce nothing to send up rents into the fine streets and the squares, what would become of the tradesmen of Marybonne? And look, sir, over the whole of this metropolis: look at the seedsmen, the salesmen of meat, the lightermen that bring up the corn, the multitudes whose centre is at Mark-lane; the hop-merchants and their people; look at all these, and imagine, if you can, the extent of the madness, or, rather, the blindness and absurdity of those who would attempt to designate any part of the people as not having an interest in agriculture.

But, if these gentlemen will insist upon the separation, I will face them, even with the admission of their own absurdity to be sense; and I will take

the statement contained in the summary of even these fallacious returns. What says this summary? why this: that the male occupiers and labourers in agriculture, twenty years of age and upwards, are *one million and seventy-five thousand*; and that male persons of the same age engaged in manufactures, &c., are *three hundred and twenty thousand*.

Thus, then, if I were to adopt that erroneous view of the matter, according to which the malt-tax is considered as a burden to nobody but persons belonging to agriculture, I should say that there were three for one, at any rate, and that therefore they were worthy of our particular consideration. I, however, scout this idea as unworthy of the mind of a man of sense: I say that all are equally interested; and as such I must speak of them as likely to be benefited by the adoption of the measure which I have had the honour to propose to the House. In stating the reasons which I have to offer for the adoption of that measure, I must first observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of any partiality of pressure which it has; because I am fully aware, that every tax, lay it where you will, finds its way, first or last, to every person in the community. I must further observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of its money-weight; because, if the tax be wanted to carry on the affairs of the Government; and if it be collected at something near the ordinary expense of collection, and being unproductive of any mischiefs beyond those arising out of its mere burden, money-burden, it would be improper to propose its repeal. But, sir, if a tax be, as I contend this tax is, peculiar as to its expenses of collection; and if it be productive of great moral evils, then it ought not to remain, even if a property-tax or a poll-tax were necessary to be imposed in its stead; and I think myself capable of proving to the House, that this tax is of this description, and that therefore it ought to be repealed. I beg it to be observed, that I urge not the repeal as peculiarly beneficial to the landlord or the farmer. As consumers of malt, they would share in the benefit with the rest of the community; as great

sufferers from the immoralities produced by this tax, they would certainly derive an extraordinary degree of benefit; but in this benefit the rest of the community must necessarily share, though their share might not be so obvious. It is impossible for the morals of millions of working people to be mended without the effect being felt in every part and by every person of the community.

The FIRST objection to this tax is, the extraordinary expense of collecting and managing it. I hold in my hand a statement, which I received last year from a gentleman at Nottingham, many years in the excise; and he proves, to my satisfaction, that five-sixths of the expenses of the whole of the excise establishment may be fairly ascribed to the malt-tax. Now, I have no means immediately at hand for ascertaining how much the whole of the expenses of the excise establishment is annually. At a guess I should say it amounted to a million of money or more; so that, to begin with, here is a million to be paid out of five millions and a half, before the money comes into the Exchequer. I believe this to be the fact; but the noble Lord can correct me here, if I be in error. At any rate, we know that the expense is very great; much greater than the collection of any other tax or taxes, to three times the gross amount; and, therefore, this is a good objection to the tax. In the case of the stamps, for instance, all that the people pay goes into the Exchequer, except a mere trifle, comparatively speaking. The six millions cost only 168,000*l.* in the collection and management, while here are five millions and a half cost, as I believe, pretty nearly or quite a million in the collection and management. The SECOND and still greater objection is, the monopoly which the tax necessarily gives rise to. Upon the same authority, which I have just mentioned, I state to the House these astounding facts; that, taking barley at twenty-eight shillings a quarter, and suppose four millions of quarters, which is about the quantity, the amount of such barley would be five millions six hundred thousand pounds; that eight quarters of

barley make nine quarters of malt, and that this increase pays all the expenses of malting. So that the four millions of quarters of barley made into malt, would, were it not for the tax, cost the people five millions six hundred thousand pounds in the year; that the duty, added to this, would make the cost nine millions seven hundred thousand pounds a year; but that, in consequence of the monopoly, created by the tax, the malt, before the result of it reaches the lips of the people, either by private brewing or public brewing, does cost the people fourteen millions four hundred thousand pounds a year, instead of costing them five millions six hundred thousand pounds a year. When, a few evenings ago, I stated the price of malt at 8s. a bushel, an hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets produced a Mark-lane account, showing, that large quantities of it had been sold that week at about six and sixpence a bushel; but I spoke of the price of malt as I could get it for my use. The tax enables men with large capital to get the malt at a price at which men for private brewing cannot get it. And here I beg leave to refer to a part of the evidence taken before the beer-shop committee of last year. Mr. GOODLAKE, a maltster of Berkshire, stated to the committee that there was a beer-shop set up by a respectable man in his parish; that this man bought his beer of a brewer, until the beer which he brewed himself should have attained a proper age; and that then he sold his own beer:—
 “But the brewer thought it so good a thing that he set up another beer-shop in the parish; and he can brew it so much cheaper than the publican who has to go to a dealer in malt and buy it at 9s. 6d. a bushel, when the brewer can make it at about 6s. 3d., that the publican cannot compete with him; and the second beer-house being set up, the man that set up the other was obliged to give it up after the first twelvemonth, and to leave the brewer's beer-house in the parish.”

Mr. EDWARD GREEN, who is a maltster, but also a farmer, of WARGRAVE, in Berkshire, gave the committee this in-

formation: “If there is so much advantage attending brewing, how is it that the ale-houses sell brewers' beer!—There are very few of them that have capital enough to buy their malt at the first hand; I could now furnish malt at 6s. 3d. a bushel; and our poor people, if they go to buy malt retail of a maltster, are charged 8s. 6d.”

Mr. STOCK, a brewer of Essex, gave the following information: “What is the cost of your malt to you?—Fifty-two shillings a quarter, covering every expense.—What have you given for your barley?—The highest price of our barley has been 30s. to 35s., and the lowest is 24s.”

But, after all, no one stated any of the grounds for believing that this monopoly arose directly out of the tax. One of its effects, however, I will state to the House. The malt-duty is paid in every six weeks. A man possessed of apparent great means can obtain bondsmen, to a certain amount, for the payment of the duty; and in this case, the collector permits the maltster to be three collections in arrear, while the maltster with small means is compelled to pay up. The man who has the large business, and who enters large quantities of malt, is enabled to enter large quantities of malt, and to get his malt duty paid more the injury to society in the end. In numerous instances, these large maltsters have been known to crush the little ones entirely; and thus it is that the malt-houses, formerly so numerous, are now become comparatively very few in number. I remember, that at Stow-in-the-Wold I learned, that formerly there were fourteen malt-houses, and that now there is only one. In the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, there used to be a malt-house in almost every village. The monopoly created by this tax, has demolished, perhaps, nineteen out of every twenty. Large brewers are also maltsters. The monopolists, in fact, carry on their trade with public money; they have always two collections in their hands to carry on their trade with; so that the people are placed at their mercy, and so placed, too, by the use of the people's own money, which they have paid for the services of the state, and

which is allowed to be kept in the hands of these monopolists. It is not, then, the tax itself, but the evils that arise out of the tax at every step that it takes; and here, on account of this monopoly alone, the people pay, as I have, I think, very clearly shown, four millions, seven hundred thousand pounds a year; which is an evil, an injustice, an oppression, arising entirely out of the tax. If I be asked, what is to become of all the capital now employed by these monopolists in this way, I answer, in the first place, that it is the people's capital in great part, as I have just shown; and, in the next place, if the monopolists have any capital, which is really their own, there is the land, there is lawful commerce; there are plenty of honest means for the profitable employment of this capital.

The third objection to this tax is, that it prevents people, and particularly the poorer part of the people, from brewing beer in their own houses, and thereby drives them to beer-shops, and other places of resort, for the purpose of getting beer, a drink which they ought to have, which they always have had, and which, let gentlemen think or say or do what they may, they always will have. I know it has been contended, that the poorer sort of people have been so long out of the habit of brewing at their own houses, that they would not take to it again, even if this tax were taken off, and if they could get the malt for a mere trifle, as they then would. It is a great mistake to suppose that this is one of the cases in which habit becomes second nature. In morals and in manners, there is great submission to the power of habit. Early rising, late rising, sobriety, drunkenness, love of ease, love of activity; in these and numerous other instances, habit has a great deal to do in determining the conduct of men; but, when you come to eating and drinking, when you come to the means of providing a bellyful, the case is wholly different. When you are withheld from any natural enjoyment by force, you return to it the moment the force is removed. From having constantly a plenty to eat, you may, by compulsion, be confined to a quarter of a meal, for

years together; but when the full meal returns, you instantly take it, without consideration had of the small quantity of food upon which you have recently lived. For a long time the labourers have been compelled to do without the bits of bacon in their pot; but, does any man imagine, that, if they had the bits of bacon again, they would not boil them and eat them? But it is said, that they want the utensils for brewing; said, indeed, only by those who cannot know any thing at all about the matter. It was asked, by the committee of last year, whether the utensils could not be had for a few shillings? There are no utensils wanting, but those which they have. A gallon of malt can be brewed in a porridge-pot which will hold five gallons of water; and twelve quarts of good beer I have seen made out of a gallon of malt in that very way. It is a great mistake to suppose that there requires large quantities of malt to be brewed together, in order to get the greatest proportion of strength. Malt is, in this respect, like tea: whether you put little or much of the latter into the pot, you get all the strength out of it in one case as well as in the other, and it is strong or weak in proportion to the quantity of water as compared with the quantity of tea. As to the expense, in the case of the labourer, it is absolutely nothing at all. The old maxim was, "If you would have good beer, you must go to bed with your brewer." The wife is the brewer; the very cheerful undertaker of this part of the duty of the family: she likes the beer herself better than water; and she has the other most powerful motive, that of keeping her husband at home. In support of these, my opinions, the House will permit me to read the evidence given by several persons, before the Beer-Bill Committee of last year. At the head of these stands Mr. SINEON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire, who, in order to be able to lay accurate opinions upon the subject before the committee, sent a circular to the overseers and ministers of fifteen parishes; and the answer of all, except one, was, that the cure for the evils of beer-shops, and the greatest

possible advantage to the country, would be, to enable the poor people to make their malt, and to brew at home. The evidence of these gentlemen, every word of which is worthy of the best attention of the House, was in the following words:

Mr. SIMEON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire. The last question is, "Would great advantages result from enabling the poor people to make their malt and brew at home, both as regards their comfort and morality?"—That is the most important question of all. The answers are, *fourteen parties say it would be highly desirable*; one fears it might lead the labourers to steal barley.

"Are those answers indiscriminately the answers of the overseers and ministers of the different parishes, or is there any difference of opinion between the ministers and the overseers?"—I should say that generally they all agree in their accounts. I believe that the answers are indiscriminately the same from the ministers and from the overseers.

"Are the answers from the overseers and the ministers jointly or separately?"—Separately: the application was made separately to each of them, and neither knew that the other had an application to the best of my knowledge."

Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate for Berkshire.—"Did the cottagers brew beer in consequence of that public-house being put down?—No; cottagers have not an opportunity of brewing beer, on account of the high price of malt."

Colonel BLAGRAVE, magistrate for Berkshire.—"Do you contemplate the absolute necessity of taking away the power of selling beer in this manner?"—I think it would be a dangerous measure, without the repeal of the malt-tax, and the tax again put upon the beer; I think if the tax were put upon the beer and the malt-tax repealed, it would induce the lower class of people to brew their own beer."

"Will you state why, without that alteration, you think it would be

dangerous to repeal the present beer bill?—Because I think it has tended to increase the price of barley, and to give a little fillip to agriculture.

"Do you think that it has any effect in checking the consumption of spirits, and giving the lower orders an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits?—*I think the lower orders have had an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits*; but it has been reported to me, that smuggled spirits have been introduced into those beer-houses, but to my knowledge I do not know it.

"Do you think that the greater facility of drinking beer has rather conducted to encourage the love of beer than the love of spirits?—I think it has, and the lower order of people have an idea that beer is much more wholesome for them."

BREDE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"Had the malt-duty been taken off, the agricultural labourer would have had his beer at home, and we think he would seldom be seen at the beer-shop; small beer is the natural beverage of the labourers in agriculture; at once the most nutritious, the most wholesome, and the best support to the labourer, being part of the subsistence for the production of his physical powers, to enable him to perform a fair day's work."

HOVE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"We are decidedly of opinion if the malt duty had been repealed, it would have been far preferable to the beer."

PLAYDEN (Sussex), Parish Vestry.—"We also beg to observe that the abolition of the malt-duty would have had a far more beneficial effect upon the habits and morals of the labouring class."

There was, indeed, one witness, who gave a different opinion, and that was Mr. THURNALL of Cambridgeshire, but he is a great maltster. His evidence was as follows: "Do you, or do you not believe, if the malt-duty was taken off so as to enable every man to brew at home, that the evils complained of would be greatly reduced, and a better morality amongst the

" poor be obtained?—I do not think it
 " is possible for the labourer to brew
 " his own beer; *I am not sure they*
 " *would not in my county; in the first*
 " *place he could brew so small a quan-*
 " *tity, and there are very few cottages*
 " *where the whole house is above the*
 " *size of this room; he is not furnished*
 " *with a copper; it is totally impossible*
 " *for a labourer to brew his beer in the*
 " *districts I have been in.*

" How was it done *formerly*, do you
 " know?—Persons brewed their own
 " beer, but I should think not a *tithe of*
 " *the population* brewed; *but their*
 " *habits have altogether altered.*

" Is it not a serious thing for a poor
 " man if he brews a quantity of beer,
 " and that beer *turns sour*?—Yes.

" He avoids *that risk*, does he not,
 " by purchasing his beer? — *Undoubt-*
 " *edly.*

" You are aware that a brewing ap-
 " paratus would cost to a poor man
 " only 5s. ?—I am aware it would cost a
 " small sum: *but half of them would*
 " *not be sober while the beer lasted;*
 " *they would drink it in a day."*

[Mr. CHILDERS, a member for Cam-
 bridgeshire, observed, that I had read
 only a part of the evidence of this man;
 that this man was his tenant, and a
 very respectable man. It is very true,
 that I read only a part, and I cited the
 evidence merely to contradict the notion
 of the habits of the people having
 changed. If I did not read the whole,
 it was merely to save time; and if the
 orders of the House would have per-
 mitted me to reply, I should have ob-
 served, that Mr. CHILDERS left out, in
 his reading, the first of the two *nots*
 which will be found in the second mem-
 ber of the first sentence of the answers
 of this witness. I believe that Mr.
 CHILDERS gave the correct meaning of
 the witness, but that meaning is just the
 contrary of that which is found in the
 print; for, in the print the witness is
 made to say, that he is *not* sure that the
 labourer would not brew his own beer;
 and Mr. CHILDERS made him say, that
 he *was* sure that he would not brew it?
 the context shows that Mr. CHILDERS'S

reading was correct, but not according
 with the evidence reported by the com-
 mittee. If I could have replied, I should
 have answered the opinion of this man,
 that not a third of the people formerly
 brewed their own beer, by citing the
 positive evidence given by Mr. JOHN
 ELLMAN, before the committee of 1821,
 " that when he became a farmer, forty-
 " five years before that, every man in
 " his parish had his own beer, and en-
 " joyed it by his own fire-side"; and
 that this evidence was then corroborated
 by a magistrate of Somersetshire, and
 by a gentleman who was then sheriff of
 Wiltshire. I did not like to waste
 time, as I never do, setting a very high
 value on time myself, or I should have
 observed, on the latter part of the evi-
 dence of this witness, the tenant of Mr.
 CHILDERS, who tells us, in one breath,
 that the labourers' beer " would *turn*
sour," and in the next breath, " that he
 would *drink it in a day*"! However,
 no observation from me was necessary
 here; a general smile in the House
 showed that they smelled out the
 maltster, and rendered any reply to Mr.
 CHILDERS wholly unnecessary.]

In short, sir, I am satisfied that there
 is no argument to be offered in support
 of the belief, that labourers would not
 again brew their own beer, if this tax
 were repealed, and wholly abolished;
 and of all the benefits arising from this
 change, I defy pen or tongue to give an
 adequate description. But, there would
 be another great change take place;
 that is to say, that farmers would have
 beer to give to their men who work out
 of their house, or rather to men who
 are not inmates of the house. On this
 subject we have the following evidence,
 taken before the agricultural committee
 of last year, of Mr. SANDERS of Lan-
 cashire, and of Mr. BROWN, a large
 farmer and a surveyor, of Wiltshire, and
 this evidence, in the following words, is
 very worthy of the best attention of the
 House.

Mr. SANDERS.—" Does not the malt-
 " tax press more immediately on a man
 " *who gives beer to his labourers, directly*
 " *as well as indirectly?*—I have no
 " doubt *if the malt-tax were removed, it*

"*would be a great improvement in his condition.*"

MR. RUDDELL BROWN.—"Would the labourers in your neighbourhood, if the law were to abolish the beer-shops and restore only the public-house, be likely to complain?—They would like it quite as well. The greatest possible relief that could be given to the agricultural labourers, would be by putting on the beer-duty again, and taking off the malt-duty, which would enable them to make or buy small quantities of malt, and brew their own beer.

"Do you not think if that were the case, the farmers would be more ready to give their labourers beer in agricultural districts?—I am quite sure of it; it is nothing but the high duty which has kept them from it; the taking off the beer-duty has been no relief to the agricultural labourer.

"What do think the people of Devonizes would say to the putting on the beer-duty again?—Probably if the malt-duty were not taken off at the same time, they would complain; but if the malt-duty were taken off, I am sure they would rejoice.

"Is there, without them, convenience for a labouring man to obtain beer for his dinner?—I have myself given my labourers beer, though it has cost me an immense sum for my malt bill every year; but still I know a man cannot work well without beer, and I wish as much as possible to keep my labourers away from the beer-shops."

The advantage to the farmer, as well as to the labourer, from giving beer instead of money, is of so much importance, as hardly to admit of exaggeration in the statement. Every one acquainted with these matters knows well, that, in times of pressing haste, particularly in harvest, a farmer can do more with one pound's worth of beer than with four pounds in money. Money is too far from the lips to produce immediate effect. Then, as to regular hard work in hot weather. Set a company of men to work at mowing: they ask you for beer, and, as is generally the case, you

allow them sixpence an acre, or something an acre, in lieu of beer. The hot sun comes and clogs the spittle in their mouths, and draws the sweat from their bodies. Away they go, perhaps a mile, to lay out their sixpence in beer. Being there, they do not stop with the sixpence. Very likely the field does not see them again for that day; then follows the loss of time, so precious then to the farmer, and they have to thirst for the remainder of the hard work of mowing, or to slake that thirst with water, which communicates weakness instead of strength. Whereas, if they had beer from the farm-house, they would go to the bottles deposited in the hedge, take their drink and return to their work. The beer would be wholesome and strengthening; and it is the deeply-interested master who would then determine the quantity. MR. RUDDELL BROWN told the committee, that he does this now; but MR. RUDDELL BROWN is a great farmer and a rich man: it costs him, he tells the committee, "an immense sum" for malt every year. That immense sum it is not in the power of a common farmer to expend; and, therefore, generally, and almost universally, speaking, hard-working men, and the best of labourers, too, are driven to the beer-shops from this cause; or to some place or other where they have to swallow the adulterated stuff made by the brewers.

Besides all these evils, there is the great evil of evils, the driving of the young people from the farm-houses. Great as the other objections to this tax are, this objection is greater than all the rest put together. This it is, which has been the great cause of the lamentable change which has taken place in the manners and the morals of the working people of England. Every gentleman must know how slender the authority of poor and indulgent parents must necessarily be over young people from the age of twelve years upwards. In proportion as the parents are poor and miserable, in that same proportion, in nature's spite, their authority will be small. To have good grown-up men and women, you must begin the work when they are

young. The hand of the poor parent is not strong enough; and if the hand of the parent were strong enough, the heart would not be stout enough, for this work. Besides, there is no room in the cottage for any body but the father and mother and little children. In the farm-house is their proper place from the age of twelve to that of twenty, or some years more. There there are a master and a mistress, not liable to indulgence on account of kindred; but bound by the law to provide for the parties in sickness and health for the whole year through; bound still more strongly by the most weighty interest, to attend, not only to the good habits and the industry, but to the morals and manners of the young people living under the same roof with themselves. Let gentlemen figure to themselves a parish with a hundred young people, distributed amongst the farm-houses, subjected to the control of masters and mistresses, who, of necessity, will compel them to keep good hours, to rise early, to be diligent during the day, to be cleanly in their persons, to go to church on the Sunday, and who have the magistrate always at hand to punish disobedience of their lawful commands. Then suppose these young people all to be turned out and to be upon their own hands; strolling about on the Sunday, without any regard to the decencies of dress; assembling in groups, either in beer-shops, or out of beer-shops; assemble they will, and whoever saw such an assemblage, without seeing mischief of some sort or other being the ultimate consequence. In short, this is the main cause of that fatal change which has taken place in the manners, the morals, the expertness, and the bodily strength, of the labourers of England; and every man, who is a judge of the matter, knows well, that this has been produced, in very great part, by the heavy expense required to furnish beer for the servants in husbandry; and that this heavy expense arises from the tax upon malt—and solely from that tax, no man will attempt to deny. This evil is so great that, unless it can be removed, all hope of restoring the country to a state of good

morals and happiness, and even of safety, may be abandoned at once in despair. The right hon. Member for MANCHESTER drew an astounding picture of the awful consequences of rejecting the proposition for an alteration of the corn laws. He seems to have thought little of the present really awful situation of those who are concerned in the cultivation of the land. But I trust that this House will have that situation constantly in its mind, till it has done its best to restore content to the labouring millions, and restored something like peace and security to the property and the dwelling of the farmer; and, sir, I am perfectly satisfied that nothing would so powerfully assist in the accomplishing of this, so desirable an object, as the adoption of the motion which I now have the honour to submit to the House.

Gladly would I see the work performed by the noble Lord and his colleagues. Then, indeed, would the Government have strength; for then it would become dear to the hearts of the whole people. The honourable Gentlemen seem as firmly fixed now as is the seat upon which they are; but this measure would fix them firmly as the hills.

I here read my motion, which was seconded by my colleague, Mr. FIELDEN. It was my intention to give the mere points in the other speeches made upon this occasion; but to avoid a charge of unfairness in doing this, I will give the report as I find it in the Times, which, to the best of my recollection, is substantially correct. Whether the country be destined to be plunged into confusion or not, is more than I can say; but if it be destined to be saved from that horrible state, I know that amongst the means of salvation there must be a total abolition of this tax. For my own part, as long as I have a seat in Parliament, I will never cease my endeavours to cause this repeal. I wish the matter to be well and clearly understood by the whole of the people, and I shall, therefore, republish the above speech, and the whole of the other speeches, as given below, in a separate pamphlet, which I shall sell for fourpence, and which I shall have

ready for publication on Tuesday the 25th of this month.

LORD ALTHORP said, that as the question had been so recently discussed, it was hardly to be supposed that the House had changed its opinion upon it. He therefore did not feel himself called upon to enter minutely into its merits. The hon. Mover had stated, that had it not been for the malt-tax the labouring agriculturists would have been able to brew their beer and drink it in their own houses. There could be no question of the advantage of the revival of such a practice, but it might be a question, whether it was dependent on the tax under discussion. The real question was, in what way in the present state of the finances of the country, it was possible to reduce the malt-tax. It had been very truly stated, that while the present amount of the establishments of the country was maintained, it would be difficult to effect any material reductions in taxation. He entirely agreed with the hon. Mover in the preference he gave to a repeal of the whole rather than half of the duty; but with regard to his assertion that it would benefit the people living in towns as much as those in the country, he would remark, that the only advantage the agriculturists would gain from a reduction of the duty, would be in their capacity of consumers, but undoubtedly every other class would profit in a like degree. He had stated, however, in a former debate, and he now repeated it, that the effect of carrying a resolution like that before the House, and founding a bill upon it, would be to produce a total stagnation in every financial measure which had been introduced to Parliament. Under these circumstances, therefore, he would refrain from following the hon. Member in detail. If the taking off the tax on malt were considered merely abstractedly, the arguments in favour of it would apply to the repeal of every other tax. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Mover on the advantage labourers would derive from brewing their beer in their own houses, he (Lord Althorp) confessed he did not believe it

likely that labourers would ever brew their own beer again. Whatever alterations were to be made in the malt-tax, he was still convinced that they would be able to buy beer cheaper than they could brew it. It was quite certain that people with large capital could make the article at a cheaper rate than those with small; and in the present state of society, he confessed he had no hope of seeing the practice in question revived. In opposing the motion he was only sorry that he felt it to be his duty so frequently to do so.

MR. H. CURTEIS said, that had it been in accordance with the forms of the House, he would have moved, as an amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Oldham, that from and after the 5. of October, 1835, one half of the duty on malt should cease and determine; and he thought Government would have consented to it. The hon. Member for Bridport (Mr. Warburton) had on a former occasion accused the agriculturists of wishing to put their hands into the pockets of the manufacturers; but this was not surely the case, since the landed proprietors had been as forward as any in recommending the repeal of the tax on beer. It was true a deficiency would be experienced in the Exchequer on the reduction of the malt-tax; but then how many eligible modes were there not only of repairing that deficiency, but of still further increasing the revenue! He had no hesitation in avowing his opinion that a tax on lotteries would be a most legitimate impost. By such a tax, 10,000,000*l.* a year might be raised. There was another article which he would subject to a higher scale of duty, that was gin; and he calculated that from 4,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* might be obtained from an increased land-tax. The hon. Member concluded by expressing a hope that the question would be pressed to a division.

SIR W. INGILBY observed, that though the question had been before disposed of, it was right it should be again tried. It was all very well to turn into ridicule the address with which he had introduced his motion on this subject; but that course could not be adopted now,

for they had in the present instance the opportunity of hearing it discussed by one who was, perhaps, the most competent man to do so in the King's dominions. (A laugh). Why his (Sir W. Ingilby's) address should have been treated as burlesque he could not imagine: for when he made his motion last year, he had been taunted by the noble Lord (Althorp) for not having named a substitute for the malt-tax he proposed to repeal. He had been called upon to state what equivalent he would throw into the Exchequer to make up the deficiency of some 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* of revenue; but when he last addressed the House he had taken care to specify some sources of revenue which, in his opinion, might form this equivalent. Even now he did not feel disposed to abandon his "budget," although attempts had been made to turn it into ridicule. People talked of buffoonery—he should like to know what greater buffoonery there could be than to vote one night in one way, with respect to the malt-tax, and next day to vote in a manner directly the reverse. He would vote with the hon. Member for Oldham, or with any other man who proposed a relief of taxation. He denied that his speech was buffoonery. He did not undertake the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer but by particular desire (laughter), and should never resume the office more. (Renewed laughter). However buffoonery or no buffoonery, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Curteis) was now found priggish in part from his budget with respect to a tax on gin, &c. (A laugh). As to the malt-tax, it was scarcely necessary for him to repeat his previously expressed opinion, that it was a most iniquitous and demoralizing mode of taxation, and that it ought to be altogether repealed. He should vote with the hon. Member for Oldham; who, he hoped, would divide the House, in order that the country might see who were the friends of agriculture, and, he would add, of trade and manufactures, upon the present occasion.

Mr. CHILDERS next addressed the House, but in a tone which rendered

him inaudible in the gallery throughout the greater part of his speech. We understood him to resist the motion, and to express his belief that a repeal of the malt-tax would not afford that degree of relief which many imagined. He was satisfied that the humbler classes would not be enabled to brew their own beer by a repeal of the duty. At present, the beer-house keepers found that they could not brew in competition with the brewers; what pretence was there for saying that the poor man could do so under any circumstances? In conclusion he observed, that the question having been already disposed of by a large majority, he did not see upon what grounds it could now be sustained.

Mr. C. FERGUSON was a friend and a member of the landed interest, but would nevertheless vote against the motion. He could not vote for taking off the whole of the malt-tax without seeing how the deficiency was to be supplied. He dared to say the hon. Member for Oldham would find means of supplying the deficiency by reducing the interest of the national debt [an hon. Member, we believe Mr. T. Attwood, here said, "And why not?"]; but he was not prepared to accede to such a proposition: the only other means of supplying the deficiency consisted in a property-tax. (Hear from the opposition). Perhaps those that cheered that sentiment thought we should have a property-tax (hear, hear, from the opposition), but he was against such an inquisitorial and odious imposition, and therefore could not be expected to vote with the hon. Member, whose motion could not be carried into effect without shaking public credit or imposing an odious tax. (Hear).

Mr. SINCLAIR observed that he should rejoice to see a property-tax re-established, inasmuch as only by means of it could the fundholder be compelled to contribute a due proportion towards the support of the state.

Mr. M. PHILIPS said, that when, on reference to the division of last year, he found that of 66 county members who voted for the repeal of the malt-tax, but

24 had supported a property-tax (the only effectual substitute), he could not vote with the hon. Member for Oldham. He was not insensible to the heavy pressure of this tax, and would gladly see it repealed, if its repeal could be effected consistently with raising the necessary amount of revenue. But it being determined to keep faith with the public creditor, he could not see how the malt-duty was to be dispensed with, after the refusal of the House to sanction a property-tax. He wished to support and aid agriculture as much as possible, being satisfied that if it were put in jeopardy, trade could not long continue prosperous. As before stated, his vote rested solely on the divisions of last year, and till he saw a different disposition in the House, he did not consider himself warranted in voting otherwise.

Mr. MAXWELL said, that if the hon. Member for Oldham thought proper to divide the House, it would be his duty to vote with him, and although he might go out in an extremely small minority ("No, no," from the opposition), as he used to do with the hon. Member for Middlesex, he foresaw that that minority would ere long rule the House. ("Hear," and a laugh).

Mr. ROMILLY would vote with the hon. Member for Oldham on this occasion.

Mr. T. ATTWOOD thought it his duty to vote with the hon. Member for Oldham, and he trusted he should do so not in a contemptible but in a considerable minority. No man could look at any breach of national faith, or at an unjust reduction of the interest of the public debt, with greater disapprobation than himself. He wished that the hon. Member for Kirkcudbright would display a little sympathy for trade and commerce, as well as for the fundholder. The only "public faith" to which he (Mr. Attwood) objected, was the unhalloved support of the fundholder in the possession of enormous and unnatural wealth, while the farmer, manufacturer, and merchant, were beat down to the earth. Take England throughout, at this moment, and you will find three farmers out of four in a state of insolvency.

When he saw the wholesale destruction of other classes of the community, he could not perceive any impropriety in taking up the case of the fundholders. The noble Lord had imposed a heavier burden on agriculture than Pharoah did upon the Egyptians (a laugh), he meant upon the children of Israel, when they were required to make bricks without straw. The noble Lord asked the agriculturists to pay rent without money—to meet their mortgages without the means. He called upon the noble Lord, as a man with a heart in his bosom, and a head, which he had (a laugh), to bring down the public burdens to a level with the public means of sustaining them. He (Mr. Attwood) wanted to make all classes flourish, happy, and united under the shadow of the King's throne. Was there any class, with the exception of the fundholders, mortgagees, and placemen, that was now contented? The noble Lord's measures had placed industry, capital, trade, and agriculture, at the feet of the monied interest. The monied interest itself must finally sink if the present system were continued. He called upon the noble Lord to do justice to all parties; that was the true way to preserve the public faith. The tax in question was about 5,000,000*l.* per annum, but he was satisfied that in order to produce that amount 10,000,000*l.* per annum was charged upon the English people. He paid 8*s.* 6*d.* per bushel for malt: the barley cost 3*s.* 6*d.*, and the tax was 2*s.* 7½*d.*, making in all 6*s.* 1½*d.*; instead of which, as before stated, he had to pay 8*s.* 6*d.* It would be seen from this how much above the amount of the actual duty the cost of malt was augmented by the present system. The removal of the tax would probably raise the price of barley from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per bushel, and the people would put 3*s.* 6*d.* in their pockets, and the farmers perhaps 1*s.* 6*d.* This was a question in which the people at large, and not merely the agriculturists were interested, and as the representative of a great body of manufacturers, he joined heart and hand with the agriculturists in urging the great boon of the total abolition of the malt-

tax. The hon. Member proceeded to touch upon the subject of wages and subsistence, and argued, that if the wages of labour were to be reduced, the taxes which enhanced the prices of the necessaries of life ought to be proportionably diminished, if we wished to see our population in comfortable circumstances. The French and Austrian soldiers had only 3*d.* a day; would the noble Lord attempt to reduce the allowance of the English soldiers to the Continental level? In defiance of all the trades' unions in the kingdom, the wages of labour would sink under a metallic standard to the level of 1792. Such being the case, must not the price of necessaries be reduced; and, in order to effect this, must not the taxes upon necessaries be lowered or removed? "But," said the noble Lord, "If we take off 5,000,000*l.* of taxation, how are we to get on?" He (Mr. Attwood) knew that in the event of such a reduction the noble Lord could not go on with the present system; but had the noble Lord considered how the landholder was to go on with his mortgages, and the necessary provisions for his family? How, with his benevolent and manly mind, could the noble Lord see this great nation "swept with the besom of destruction"? It had been said that it would be a robbery of the noble Lord opposite to deprive him of the malt-tax; but he (Mr. Attwood) hoped the noble Lord would soon not only be robbed of the malt-tax, but also of many other imposts which pressed so heavily upon the industry of the country. Until the noble Lord thus relieved the people, he trusted he would be as restless upon his pillow as millions were rendered by the pressure of taxation—indeed he could not understand how the noble Lord could rest tranquilly in the same bed with his victims. (Cries of Oh, oh, and question.) He (Mr. Attwood) should most unquestionably give his vote in favour of the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham.

Mr. STANLEY said he did not rise for the purpose of entering at all upon the question of the repeal of the malt-duty, but to entreat the House to show

some respect for its own time, and to join with him in endeavouring to put an end to the present most useless discussion, (hear, hear); a discussion into which all sorts of extraneous topics had been introduced. He should not attempt to follow the hon. Member for Birmingham through all the topics upon which he had commented, nor to comment upon the language he had indulged in with reference to the noble Lord sleeping in the same bed with his victims (hear); but he wished to recall to the attention of the House the fact that the present question has been fully discussed within the last fortnight in a very large House, when the repeal of the malt-tax was negatived on the clearest proof being adduced that without that tax or a substitute it was impossible for the Government to carry on the affairs of the nation. Would the House then now reverse its decision upon a subject which every individual admitted could not be done without a substitute being found and adopted? The hon. Member for Birmingham had himself admitted this, and yet he called upon the Government to make the bricks (adopting the hon. Gentleman's simile), but refused to supply the straw, a commodity absolutely necessary for the manufacture of the article. The manner in which the question had now been brought forward and treated was not the fair mode of dealing with it. The House had already decided upon the subject within the last fortnight, and he (Mr. Stanley) called upon the House to proceed to the order of the day, and to dispose of the ordnance estimates, and not vote for a motion which could lead to no practical benefit. It had been admitted, as he had already stated, that the malt-duties could not be dispensed with, unless some other means of contributing to the revenue should be substituted, but no such substitute had as yet even been substituted. The discussion, therefore, could lead to no beneficial end.

An hon. MEMBER on the opposition benches said that it would lead to a property-tax.

Mr. STANLEY resumed.—Let the hon.

Member get a property-tax first, and he could then well enter into the discussion of the repeal of the malt-duties (hear hear); but without a substitute, to talk of taking away 5,000,000*l.* from the revenue of the country was an absurdity. He must remind hon. Members, that, from the manner in which the question stood before the House, by voting for the business of the day being proceeded with, they could not be accused of voting against the repeal of the malt-duty, and he entreated hon. members, if they wished to maintain their reputation in the country as men of business, not to countenance the continuance of a discussion which, as he had already said, could by no possibility lead to any result, but to accede to the proceeding at once to the business of the day.

MR. ROBINSON had no wish to protract a re-discussion of the question of the repeal of the malt-duties, though he was surprised the argument that it had already been discussed, should be urged by a Government which last year, after a vote of the House had been given in favour of an interference with those imposts, came down a few evenings afterwards, and by a motion called upon the House to rescind that decision. (Hear, hear). For himself he was prepared to denounce the malt-duties as the most onerous and exceptionable tax pressing upon the country, but he at the same time deprecated the demand made upon the Government to repeal them without a substitute being provided. (Hear, hear). He contended that a substitute could be found and adopted with safety to the revenue and with benefit to the whole community. He did not allude to any interference with the currency, though all the difficulties of the country arose from its depreciation in the year 1797. (Question, question). He was clearly of opinion that only one remedy existed by which the country could be relieved from its pressing difficulties. It was a remedy which he feared the House was not at present disposed to adopt, but it was a remedy which would effect no injury upon one class of capitalists to the benefit of another—a remedy that would affect the fundholder in common with other capitalists; that remedy was a tax upon the wealth and property of the country,

by which alone Parliament could repeal all those taxes which were admitted to be impolitic and unjust. (Hear, hear).

MR. CUMMING BRUCE had no wish to prolong the debate, but was anxious merely to state to the House a few facts, which would show that the agricultural interests of that part of the kingdom with which he was connected, were now under great depression from the operation of the present system of taxation generally. In the first place, however, he must call the attention of the House to the comparison of the average prices of wheat now and at former periods, and he had taken the average price at present obtained in counties in the southern district, as well as in the northern counties of Scotland. From the years 1829 to 1833, the lowest average was 5*l.* 3*d.* per quarter, and from 1797 to 1801 the average was 47*s.* 1*d.* At present the average prices fixed in February last, in the county of Stirling, where there existed all the advantages of a ready market, and of a great manufacturing population, the average prices of agricultural produce were as follows:—Wheat, 46*s.* 5*d.*; barley, 25*s.* 4*d.*; and oats, 16*s.* 8*d.* At the same period in a northern county (the county of Moray) the average prices were, wheat, 43*s.* 5*d.*; barley, 25*s.*; and oats, 15*s.* 10*d.*; and in the county of Banff, wheat, 37*s.*, barley, 23*s.*, and oats, 15*s.* per quarter. Now he must remind the House that it had been stated before the agricultural committee of last year by one witness, Mr. Low, that unless the farmer in Scotland could realize in the market 58*s.* per quarter for his wheat, 32*s.* for his barley, and 24*s.* for his oats, he would be unable to meet his engagements without sacrificing all the profits which ought to appertain to him for his skill, industry, and his capital employed. The committee, which had been acquiesced in last year by the noble Lord opposite, had, by their report, shown the state of the existing distress amongst the agricultural interests, and had pointed out some measures of relief; yet a modification of the poor-laws, and other remedies suggested, would not afford any relief to the agriculturist north of the Tweed, neither would any alteration of the tithe law affect the distress consequent upon the low prices obtained for agricultural produce. In Scotland all collision between the occupying tenants and the clergy had been avoided; but though no outcry had been raised, the former had to contribute to the church, though in a different shape, all that was paid by tenants occupying lands in England. The Scotch agriculturists had used great efforts, and with success, to improve the lands, but their condition was now daily becoming more distressing, and they were more and more unable to maintain a respectable and useful position in society, and the lands were passing into the hands of attorneys, money-lenders, and legal crafts—a change than which

none more injurious could be conceived. (Cries of Question). He was not prepared, however, to sacrifice the maintenance of the national faith, and the provision for the exigences of the state, and therefore could not vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham; but he would take the liberty of suggesting to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) a means by which a partial relief could be afforded without to any considerable degree affecting the revenue. The suggestion was contained in a memorial signed by the malt distillers of the Inverness collection, and those memorialists recommended as a very essential amendment the repeal of the malt-duty, and the substitution of a spirit duty, which they were willing to increase to 3s. 11½d. or to even 4s. per gallon. Now, as the modification of the poor-laws, or the proposed alteration in the tithe system, could not affect the agricultural distress in Scotland or Ireland, his proposition was, that the noble Lord opposite should separate the question of the malt-duties with reference to those two countries from the question as affecting England. (Loud cries of Oh, oh, and Question). It appeared that during the last year the duty on malt paid in Scotland was 523,539l. 1s. 6d., and in Ireland the amount paid was 246,347l. 4s. 9d., making a total amount of duty paid in those countries, upon 707,975 quarters, of 769,886l. Now the malt distillers suggest the substitution of an increased duty on spirits of 6d. He (Mr. C. Bruce) would accede to an increase of 8d. per gallon. The total number of gallons distilled in Scotland in the course of last year was 7,979,000, and in Ireland upwards of 9,000,000 making together a total of 17,259,958 gallons. Upon this the increase of duty would realize to the revenue upwards of 600,000l., and therefore all that the noble Lord would, by the adoption of the proposition, be called upon to give up to the distressed agriculturists of Ireland and Scotland would be about 169,000l. By this arrangement the resources of the noble Lord would not be much trenched upon, while a great boon would be extended to both countries. He should not vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham, but he had felt it his duty to call the attention of the House and the Government to these facts with a view to redress the grievances and burdens by which the agriculturists of Scotland were oppressed and borne down. (Hear, hear, and cries of Question).

Mr. PIGOT was understood to say, that in maintaining English prices we should maintain English comforts, English enjoyments, and English civilization. (Question).

Strangers were then ordered to withdraw, and the House divided, when there appeared

For the original question	142
For Mr. Cobbett's amendment..	59
Majority for the Speaker's leaving the Chair	83

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Of 61 (tellers included) who voted in favour of Mr. Cobbett's motion, "That it is expedient that from and after the 5. of October next, all duties on malt shall cease and determine."

Against the motion	142
For the motion	59
Majority	83

201 in the House.

ENGLAND.

Adams, E. H.	Keppel, Major
Aglionby, H. A.	Leech, J.
Astley, Sir J.	Lennard, Sir T.
Attwood, T.	Lister, E. G.
Barnard, J. G.	Mills, W.
Bell, M.	Parrott, J.
Bowes, J.	Pigot, N.
Buckingham, J. S.	Plumptre, J. P.
Burton, H.	Rickford, W.
Chandos, Marquis of	Robinson, G. R.
Chaplin, Colonel	Shawe, R. N.
Clayton, Colonel W. R.	Simeon, Sir R.
Crawley, S.	Trelawney, W. L. S.
Curteis, Captain	Trevor, Hon. R.
Faithful, G.	Tyrell, Sir J.
Fancourt, Major	Tyrell, C.
Fielden, J.	Vincent, Sir F.
Foley, E.	Walter, J.
Folkes, Sir W.	Wason, R.
Gaskell, D.	Watkins, L.
Hume, J.	Wigney, I. N.
Ingilby, Sir W.	Wilks, J.
James, W.	Winnington, H.

SCOTLAND.

Ferguson, Captain	Sinclair, G.
Maxwell, J.	Wallace, R.
Oswald, R. A.	

IRELAND.

Jacob, E.	Ruthven, E. S.
O'Connell, M.	Ruthven, E.
O'Connell, M. J.	Sheil, R. L.
O'Connell, J.	

<i>Tellers.</i>	Tynte, C. J. K.
Cobbett, W.	Troubridge, Sir T.
Curteis, H. B.	Berkeley, Hon. G.
<i>Paired for the motion.</i>	<i>Shut out.</i>
Goring, H. D.	Kennedy, J.

So that out of two hundred and thirteen members, there were sixty-five for the total abolition of the malt-tax, the question being put in a manner direct, and without any possibility of its being misunderstood.

GOOD NEWS INDEED !

Bolt-court, 20. March, 1834.

LETTERS and papers from America convince me that the paper-monster has got its death-blow. I have several articles to insert from the NEW YORK papers up to the 13. of February ; but I shall begin with one which will at once amuse and instruct my readers. It is an extract from a letter dated at the city of WASHINGTON, and I take it from the NEW YORK *Journal of Commerce* of the 13. of February, and it is in the following words :

"Washington, 10. Feb., 1834.

"It is reported that General Jackson has received a letter from William Cobbett, encouraging him to persist in his hostility to monied monopolies, and informing him that the eyes of Europe are upon him, and that the hopes of the people of Europe will be disappointed if he yields to the Bank in the present conflict."

Good ! good blow at the monster. A blow that will tell. Bread cast upon the waters. That is the way to attack monsters when they are powerful. It is no use to rail at them ; no use to be in a passion with them ; you only fret yourself to death, or knock yourself to pieces. The way to attack them is, the way that I went to work with this paper-monster, by "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which has now been actually at work in the United States, where it is re-published. That prodigious mass of power and of abuses, the established church, was not to be attacked by railing, by invective, no, nor even by a full and true statement of its abuses. It required "PROTESTANT REFORMATION"; it required the tracing of it back to its very commencement. When soldiers have a mere intrenchment or hastily thrown-up battery to attack, they may rush on, sword in hand, to the assault, at once ; but when they have a regular fortified place, with curtains and bastions, a rampart, a hundred yards wide, supported by half-moons, horn-works, ravelins, and outworks of every description ; then the assailant must begin at the foot of the glacis, and make his approaches

with the assistance of gabions, fascines, and all those other means that give him shelter, until he can work a mine under the rampart, and blow a hole in it.

Thus I availed myself of my studies in fortification : I applied to politics the knowledge which I had derived from reading VAUBAN ; and I have dealt these great things heavier blows than any other man ever dealt them. I have set the people upon them ; and now let them escape if they can.

The President having got my letters, has also got (and, indeed, I know he has) the AGRICULTURAL REPORT OF LAST SESSION, which I sent him ; in order to show him to what a state the ever accursed paper-money had brought England herself ; in order to show him, that this hellish monster had been able to demoralize the most moral people in the world ; in order to show him, that the House of Commons itself had thus declared ; first, that the lands of England had fallen, and were falling, out of cultivation, and were yielding diminished crops for the want of a sufficiency of labour bestowed upon them ; and, second, that the greatest evil in the country was, that there was a surplus of labourers, and a general want of employment.

This REPORT is at the city of WASHINGTON. There it is to be seen by the rulers of that country ; there it is to speak for itself, and to tell the members of the Congress what a state the monster of paper-money has brought a country like England to ; there it is, worth all the pamphlets and all the letters and all the speeches in the world, to urge the President and Congress to rescue their country from the jaws of the hellish monster. I must now content myself, for this week, with inserting these interesting articles from the American papers. I have neither time nor room for comment at any length. Our infamous newspapers, nine-tenths of which are deeply interested in upholding the paper swindle, take special care to publish nothing, tending to show us that the American swindle is actually now being knocked to pieces, and that shipments of specie from England to

the United States are daily going on, and must of necessity increase. The first article that I shall insert, is a report, made at NEW YORK, to the merchants and paper-money fellows there, by certain delegates, sent by these rag-rooks to WASHINGTON, to get a memorial presented to the Congress, in favour of the National Bank. The reader will see what the Vice-President and the Congress said to the rag-rooks; he will see, that it is the resolution of the Government to root out the accursed paper-money altogether. These proceedings took place at NEW YORK on the 11. of February. I beg the reader's best attention to the whole of it from the beginning to the end.

NEW-YORK RAG-ROOKS.

At a meeting of the signers of the Memorial of Merchants and others, held at the Merchants' Exchange, February 11th, 1834;

On motion, Jonathan Goodhue, Esq. was chosen chairman, and John P. Stagg appointed Secretary;

James G. King, Esq. from the Committee of Delegates, made the following

REPORT.

The delegation appointed by the Signers of the Memorial of the Merchants, Traders, Dealers and others of the city of New York, to present the same to Congress, beg leave respectfully to report to their constituents, that upon their arrival in Washington, they waited on the Representatives in Congress from this city, and on the Senators from the state of New York, with a view of requesting their aid and co-operation in properly introducing to their respective Houses the memorial they had in charge. Believing it to be of primary importance, considering the unbelief expressed as to the existing commercial distress, that the individual presenting such memorial should declare, in his place in Congress, his full and implicit reliance upon the truth of its averment, and his perfect acquiescence in its conclusion, they proposed to Mr. C. W. Lawrence, who, from his large participation in the prosperity of New York, whose commercial

interests he was especially relied upon for upholding, to be their organ in the House of Representatives in this design: however, your delegation regret to say, they were disappointed, as, after time for consideration, Mr. Lawrence declined presenting the memorial in the manner proposed. The senior members of the city representation in Congress, were not requested to act, as their sentiments, frankly made known at the time, were totally at variance with those of the memorial, which was also a matter of serious regret to your delegation, inasmuch as these gentlemen were likewise intimately connected with the commercial classes of the city of New York.

Your deputation, thus situated, afforded a singular spectacle to the national legislature. In presenting a memorial declaring, with a moderation beyond all cavil, the existing state of commercial distress, and embodying the deliberate views of experienced and intelligent merchants upon a subject of vital importance to them and to the nation, they are obliged to forego the service of the only mercantile men sent from the city to Congress; and were glad to find in the junior member of Congress from the city (Mr. Selden), himself not connected with the mercantile class except by enlarged and liberal views, a ready and efficient aid in the accomplishment of their wishes. While your delegation acknowledges at the hands of the other representatives from the city, all proper courtesies and civilities, they must award to Mr. Selden the highest praise for his manly and able co-operation, which was not the less effective in Congress, as your delegation aver, from being made in despite of those considerations which were deemed paramount by his colleagues; and it is proper to add, that those colleagues thought it right to vote against such a reference of the memorial as had been deliberately preferred by your delegation.

By Mr. Wright, from this State, the memorial was presented in the Senate, in satisfactory terms, and, considering that he had so recently promulgated such opposite opinions, your delegation desire to award him their thanks.

Your delegation also waited upon the President of the United States, by appointment, and was received with that courtesy for which he is distinguished, and in a long interview, after explaining the actual state of commercial affairs in this city, and declaring in explicit but respectful terms, as the result of the experience and best judgment of our commercial men, that a national bank was absolutely necessary for the proper regulation of a paper currency as now established, and upon which the whole business of the country was based; they received from him the most decided assurance of these entirely opposite views, entertained by himself, and the most unqualified declarations, that in no event would he ever consent to restore the deposits or to re-charter the Bank of the United States; that he was determined to try the experiment of carrying on the fiscal concerns of the nation, through the state banks until the expiration of the United States Bank charter, and if the experiment failed, some scheme might be devised of collecting and depositing the revenue *without the intervention of any monied institution.*

The President held out no expectation of the establishment at present of any national bank, but added that he felt great sympathy for the New York mercantile distress, for the merchants had honourably and punctually performed all their engagements to the Government, with unparalleled fidelity.

Your delegation then waited upon the Vice-President, but from official engagements he was at that time unable to hold any converse with them, upon the subject of their mission, but at another moment to a portion of your delegation, the Vice-President expressed similar views and determinations to those manifested by the President.

Your delegation had an interview with Mr. Taney, and derived from him a full confirmation of their conclusions resulting from what had passed during their visit to Washington. In conclusion your delegation regret to say that it is their sincere conviction, that nothing is intended to be done by the Govern-

ment for the present, that no plan is under its consideration for the future, in respect to a national bank; that the administration is determined not to re-charter the U.S. Bank under any possible modifications, nor to propose any new bank, and instead thereof, to rely upon state institutions, *until hard money can be made to supersede the actual paper-currency of the country.*

James G. King,
James Boorman,
Charles H. Russell,
John A. Stevens,
R. C. Cornell,
D. W. C. Olyphant,
James W. Otis,
Elbert, J. Anderson,
P. Perit,
Joseph Kernockan,
S. S. Howland,
G. S. Robbins,
J. Crumby,
T. W. Gale.

On motion of Samuel Ward, Esq., resolved, That the report be accepted and the committee be discharged.

On motion, it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the delegates to Washington, for the able and faithful discharge of the duties confided to them.

On motion of Charles H. Russell, Esq., it was unanimously resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Hon. Dudley Selden, for the prompt manner in which he presented our memorial, and for the ability with which he enforced its object, and that this expression of our feelings be conveyed to him by the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting.

On motion of John A. Stevens, Esq., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, as the opinion of this meeting, that there is energy, ability, integrity, and property sufficient in this community, to carry it through the present unparalleled sufferings and impending evils ultimately to safety and prosperity.

2. Resolved, That the commercial community in this crisis must rely for

their preservation on their own energies, on mutual forbearance and assistance, and that this emergency calls for a calmness, liberality, and firmness, equal to its severity ; and that on these means, and through them on the restoration, as far as practicable of public confidence, this community must now depend.

3. Resolved, That with a view to these objects, and to the importance of combining mercantile influence and opinions for commercial and not for party ends, and by the exercise of this influence, to ameliorate present distresses and to avert future evils, that a Union Committee of twenty-five persons be now appointed, whose duty it shall be to confer with committees of the State and National Banks, with a view to produce that entire concert and harmony of action, essential to enable them to afford the greatest possible relief to the community.

4. Resolved, That this committee be further instructed to adopt immediate measures, by a union of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade, or by such other measures as they may deem expedient, to constitute a general organ of commercial sentiments and opinions, in order by concert and unanimity of action, to secure to this great mercantile community a just and proper influence.

5. Resolved, That the committee endeavour to procure from the state legislature, an expression more in accordance with the present opinions of its constituents, than those recently adopted by it, on the subject of the removal of the deposits and of a national bank.

6. Resolved, That this committee have power to appoint delegates to proceed to Washington, Albany, and other cities, if thought advisable, to further the objects of their appointment, and generally to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient in this crisis for the public good.

In pursuance of the above resolution, the following persons were appointed, and constitute the Union Committee.

Albert Gallatin,
Jonathan Goodhue,

John Haggerty,
James Boorman,
James Brown,
Rufus L. Lord,
Isaac Carrow,
John G. Coster,
Thomas Brooks,
Hubert Van Wagenen,
Joseph Kernochan,
John A. Stevens,
D. W. C. Olyphant,
James G. King,
G. G. Howland,
Nathaniel Weed,
John W. Leavitt,
David Lee,
Fanning C. Tucker,
Elbert J. Anderson,
Francis Olmsted,
Charles H. Russell,
E. G. Faile,
Philip Hone,
John P. Stagg.

On motion, resolved, That the report of the Committee of Delegates, with the proceedings of this meeting, be published in all the daily papers, and the meeting adjourned.

JONATHAN GOODHUE, Chairman.
JOHN P. STAGG, Secretary.

CONGRESS.

8. February, 1834.

This being presentation day, a great number of memorials, chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York, were presented, in relation to the public distress.

Mr. Cambreleng presented the memorial of merchants of New York, engaged in the foreign trade, in favour of a warehousing system, and prefaced it with some animated and correct views in regard to the policy of the measure advocated by the memorialists. He did not fail to represent that much of the present distress grew out of the abolition of long credits on duties without a commensurate extension of the warehousing system, and he called on those who were so clamorous for relief, to join him in affording it, through the means proposed by the memorialists. Mr. Cambreleng also presented the memorial of the working men of New

York in favour of the abolition of paper currency, and of a return to a "constitutional" or hard-money currency. Here Mr. C. launched out in support of the metallic currency system, to the great edification, no doubt, of the Philadelphia merchants in the gallery. His plan was, that we should take things as General Jackson has made them, and "enlarge the metallic basis." Mr. C. also presented the Tammany resolutions, with some remarks.

Mr. Selden presented the mechanics' memorial with some appropriate remarks. Among other things, he said that, in ninety days, we should have the mechanics from every part of the country knocking at our doors and praying relief. This memorial, at the request of Mr. Selden, was read from the clerks' table. Mr. Hannegan, a Jackson member from Indiana, interrupted its reading and requested its suspension: but he was overruled.

Mr. Denny, of Pittsburgh, made a long speech in presenting the proceedings of the citizens of that place on the subject of the public distress. Three fourths or more of the citizens of Pittsburgh concurred in the opinions and wishes expressed in the memorial. It seems that they threaten to tar and feather Mr. Wilkins, for representing their distress as artificial or feigned. He has retracted the offensive expressions, but persists in the opinion that they have mistaken both the cause and the remedy of their embarrassments.

Mr. Binney presented the Philadelphia memorial, in the presence of the Philadelphia committee, who were in the new gallery. His remarks were brief and highly interesting. He anticipates from the continuance of the existing relations between the Bank of the U.S. and the administration, the general and speedy suspension of specie payments by the state banks. He would not be surprised should the calamity come upon us to-day or to-morrow.

PROGRESS OF THE SWINDLE.

The following series of articles, taken from the NEW-YORK "*Courier*," will

show the progress of the swindle, down to the 11 February; and will show also the desperate state of the swindle.

November 23.—Nothing can save our safety fund banks and currency generally, but the Government's promptly retracing its course.

December 25.—We do not hesitate to say that the pressure not only exceeds all former examples, but such is the panic that prevails in consequence of the removal of the deposits, the weakness of the state banks, and the general derangement of the currency, that there is too much reason to apprehend the most serious consequences to our local institutions, if a speedy remedy be not devised to restore the confidence of the community in thier ability to maintain specie payments.

The effect of a panic is to produce hoarding, and hoarding is always in specie. In Philadelphia the hoarding has already commenced to an alarming extent; and, we have it from a source which cannot be questioned, that the immediate cause of alarm among the Philadelphia banks, was the fact, that the country people are daily repairing to the city with their five, ten, twenty, or fifty-dollar bills, and demanding for them the specie for safe keeping. These are facts; and they should not be without their influence upon our local institutions. They know not how soon a similar course may be adopted in this state; but they do know, that once resorted to, every man who holds a bill will rush forward to realize his portion of the little specie the banks have, and then a single day will blow up half the banks in the state, and a week more all that remains of them. It matters not how solvent they be, a suspension of specie payments will inevitably take place if the Government deposits be not quickly replaced in the Bank of the United States.

Dec. 30.—A failure for a very large amount took place in Wall-street on Saturday, and two or three others of minor consequence, in other business parts of the city. The failure in Wall-street, we are informed, arose from the return with a protest of a large amount

of drafts on England, passed on the strength of a remittance of Ohio 6 per Cent. Stocks, which could not be sold there. This story about the Ohio 6 per Cents. was altogether a made-up affair. The house in question never owned a share of such stock, much less was it returned upon them from England.—[Edrs. J. C.] * * The distress is besides now not confined to the mercantile community; it unfortunately extends to the mechanic. One house on Saturday dismissed no less than fifty of their hands. * * * In Philadelphia our accounts represent the state of things as still worse, if possible.

Jan. 14.—Yesterday afternoon, at half-past two o'clock, a stage-wagon arrived in town from Albany, loaded with specie in kegs and barrels, for one of the pet banks. Every exertion was made to bring this specie on with celerity, but it still reached wall-street half an hour later than the period fixed on.

Jan. 22. The pressure upon the money market is not only greater than it has been for ten years past, but it has been and is daily increasing. And what is worse, the public mind appears to be settled down into a state of apathy and gloom, which too plainly proclaims that there is no prospect of relief in future. A deep conviction prevails that if the representatives of the people should approve of the removal of the deposits, it would become the imperious duty of the Bank of the United States to commence immediately curtailing its discounts, with a view to the ultimate winding up of its affairs. Its charter expires in March, 1836, and should they, as they most certainly will, immediately commence a curtailment of two millions per month, there will still remain an outstanding balance at the expiration of the charter.

Jan. 25. Can it be believed that the present state of our financial system, our western customers will be able to meet their engagements. * * In the present alarming crisis can any one be so sanguine as to think that western merchants of the first standing even, will be able to make their payments in this and other Atlantic cities, as they were

went to do? Assuredly not. Then is the pressure but just begun. * * It is the height of absurdity for any one to suppose, whatever may be his situation, that he is beyond the reach of the calamity which threatens us.

Jan. 27. The scarcity of money on Saturday had arrived at a most frightful pitch, and called forth curses deep and loud against those who brought this evil upon us.

We learn that nearly 300 hands were discharged by four manufacturers on Saturday in consequence of the existing state of things; and we need scarcely predict that every day will but add to the number of those deprived of the means of support.

Jan. 29. Every day the distress becomes greater. * * New failures are taking place, and the number of mechanics thrown out of employ, continually augments.

Jan. 30. Is it true that in the event of the failure of a pet bank the Government deposits must be paid before those of private individuals? If this be true, and we have no doubt of it, let private depositors look to their accounts.

Feb. 6. (Washington Correspondence.) While such dark clouds hover over the land, let the small capitalist prepare for the direful result. While the horizon is overshadowed, the faint flash of the lightning seen, and the rumbling of the thunder heard in the distance, let the cautious man house his little stock, secure from "the pelting of the pitiless storm" that approaches. Let him who has a five-dollar bill to lay aside, exchange it for specie, while that may yet be had. "Ye know not what to-morrow may bring forth."

Feb. 11. Should the [pet] banks refuse to listen to the voice of reason, it will become the solemn duty of our merchants and others who have any interest in the welfare of our city, to assemble in public meeting and designate a day, on which, if the deposits are not given up, every friend to our prosperity should go forward and demand from these banks the payment of their notes in specie.

DESPERATION OF THE SWINDLERS.

In the meanwhile, the swindling rag-rooks are become perfectly bloody-minded. On the 11. of February, they mustered all their forces at NEW YORK, uttered curses against the President, and called upon every sly rogue in the country to join in support of an *Union Committee*, to counteract the operations of the Government. Being surrounded with so numerous a band, the main mouth-piece of the swindlers concluded in the following words: "Hereafter, let that man or that newspaper, which attempts to disturb the public confidence in the banks or in the merchants, be marked as an enemy and treated as such."

Under date of the 12. of February there is an extract from the PHILADELPHIA "*Herald*" of a day or two before in the following words: "We have it on good authority that the merchants of New York have it under advisement whether or not they shall suspend the payment of their *duty bonds*." Oh, oh! oh, oh! They have it under "*advisement*"! They have imported the goods from England; they have got them on shore and have sold them; they have got people to be bound for the payment of the duties; and they have it under "*advisement*" whether they shall pay the duties when the bonds become due! Do not, reader; do not, I pray you, charge them with the intention of wronging their bondsmen; for the villains are bondsmen for *one another*; and they mean, to be sure, all to break together and cheat the Government! This will not do much, however; for the Government has power to hunt them till they have not a shirt left to their backs; and if it had not had that power, not one penny would it ever have got from this tribe of swindlers, who, let it be observed, are little more than the agents of the money-monster in England; and this is well known to the President and the Congress.

SPECIE FROM ENGLAND.

Aye! this is the rub; and, relative to this, I take the following article from the NEW YORK "*Mercantile Journal*" of the 12. of February

"SPECIE FROM ENGLAND.--The packet ship *Napoleon* brought a considerable sum in dollars, the first of any importance which has been received since the rate of exchange passed below the real par. London, rather than Liverpool, is the place to find dollars, and from that place constant and large sums may be expected."

Aye, "London is the place"! London is the place to get dollars; and I do pray you, good folks, send for them very quickly, or else you will not get them. It is very curious that the ship "*Napoleon*" should be the first to carry out a cargo of dollars; the ship should have been named "ANDREW JACKSON"; or "PORCUPINE"; or "WILLIAM CORBETT"; or "TOM PAINE": the last, perhaps, the most appropriate of all; for it was old TOMMY that taught me how to give the monster heavy and deadly blows. The *run* goes on very delightfully in all parts of the country. Even the rag-rook paper, from which I have been quoting, gives us the following:

"From five hundred to a thousand dollars in specie are now daily paid out by each of the city banks, to persons who come with *small sums* in bills which they are *afraid* to hold. This is the effect of the cry, 'Let him who has a five-dollar bill to lay aside, exchange it for specie, and *house* his little store.' And let it be remembered, that every thousand dollars of specie so abstracted, *deprives the merchants of discounts to three times the amount*."

Yes, to be sure! What man will be fool enough not to get the silver while he can. To be sure, it deprives the merchants of discounts; and, to be sure, it will break the fraudulent villains up: who does not know that? The President knows it well; and he is determined that men shall not any longer have the profits of capital, without in reality possessing any capital. He is deter-

mined that these villains shall no longer take away men's farms, merely in exchange for bits of paper which are worth nothing.

In the midst of all this there are not wanting speculations in abundance; and amongst others, the following project for establishing some new sort of bank, a new scheme, in order still to uphold the paper-swindle. I beg the reader's attention to this article in particular. The writer imagines that he can cheat the President and the Congress into a continuation of the swindle in some shape or another; but he will find himself deceived.

A circular has been addressed to the banks of this State, particularly those under the safety fund, by a gentleman high in the confidence of the commercial public, from which we make the following extracts. The matter has been for some days under consideration, and it is understood that a number of the strongest banks in this and other places are willing to adopt the measure proposed. The Union Committee may perhaps find this proposal an important preliminary to their operations.

By reference to documents from the treasury department of the United States, it appears that the exports to the year 1833, were above two millions of dollars greater than the exports of the previous year; and further, that the imports were less than the imports of the previous year, by a value of 2,196,500 dollars. The official returns for the year 1833 are not yet completed; but it will be admitted that the value of our exports for 1833 far exceed the value of any previous year, and that our imports for the same period are far less in value.

Again, it is well known that the rates of foreign exchange have been on the decline for more than a year. From these facts it appears that our mercantile and trading community, have exhibited a commendable caution and that no over-trading, as a nation, can be laid to our charge.

Again, the products of our rich State were greater in amount during 1833,

than for many preceding years. So far was the product of labour beyond the wants of the producer, that one-half of the products of the soil are now remaining in the hands of the producer, unencumbered and ready for remittance at the opening spring.

Again, throughout our inland counties we find the banking institutions with anxious care providing for the impending storm, and they have been enabled to fortify themselves without inconvenience to their customers, by reason of the over-abundant returns vouchsafed by Providence to our industrious people. By the report of the bank commissioners, it appears that the amount of specie in the vaults of the safety fund banks, is greater than the previous year by the sum of 404,564 dollars 98 cents. The amount of accumulated banking capital has been increased since their previous report, by a sum of 2,554,464 dollars.

The amount of the fund paid in to meet and defray any loss is now 290,000 dollars. The amount of surplus profits held by the safety fund banks, is 3,005,560 dollars 77 cents; we may therefore reiterate the declarations of the bank commissioners, that if there is any solidity in the credit of the country, any value in what we have been in the habit of denominating property, the banks in this State cannot be otherwise than safe. With these facts before us, and believing them to be substantially true, we arrive at the conclusion that any agreement or arrangement entered into by the safety fund banks, for their mutual protection, under any appearance or threatening of a specie run, cannot be attended by eventual loss to either of the institutions.

If an agreement can be entered into, whereby the banks shall be made to feel an entire confidence in and reliance upon each other, it will tend to prevent any material curtailment of their existing loans or circulation. It will tend to induce confidence between man and man, and once more set afloat the deposits now held in unprofitable durance. Capital will resume its wonted purpose, the products of the several States will be

interchanged, and the system of exchange will be re-established.

One objection only presents itself, and that is, the covert or open hostility of any powerful monied institution. Three guards, however, are to be found against this supposition: first, in the common-sense of men whose actions are to be scanned and judged by the public; second, in the inherent power of the safety fund banks, as exhibited in the bank commissioners' return, more especially, when drawn into action for self-preservation and public good; and third, in the self-interest which any one institution would or ought to feel naturally, inclining it not to interfere with the welfare of corporations, living as they must all live, by popular favour.

With these views, it is proposed that the banks of the State of New York shall be convened by delegates at New York and Albany, with authority from their respective boards, to enter into an agreement with each other, to the following effect:

1st. That under the existing state of alarm and apprehension, the banks will pledge themselves, respectively, in proportion to their capital, to afford aid and succour to any safety fund bank, which may be placed in jeopardy, by reason of a sudden run or demand for specie at its counter.

2nd. That the banks shall not, without the consent of two-thirds of the banks, respectively, enlarge their issue of notes beyond the amount reported by the bank commissioners, on the 1. of February inst.

Your excellent suggestions in regard to prohibiting the issues of small notes, and the substituting in their stead a metallic currency, for the convenience of travellers, and especially for the protection of the poor against loss by counterfeits and the notes of broken banks, will be responded to by the whole nation. The recommendation of the general government may influence the states to co-operate and effect this desirable object. But beyond the use of specie for small change, metallic currency is entirely inapplicable to the pur-

poses of our vast amount of currency circulating over thousands of miles of territory.

The impossibility of breaking up our established system of paper and substituting metallic currency, is so manifest, that no practical man can entertain such a scheme for a moment. The local banks may afford the needful facilities to commerce so far as loans are concerned in their immediate vicinities, but are they not absolutely incompetent to regulate the exchange, by their limited charters, and by being, as they are, circumscribed within their respective states? The supposition that the local banks can safely regulate a domestic exchange, amounting to three or four millions annually, is delusive; and such an opportunity, if persisted in, will afford another illustration of the opinion that nations as well as individuals are prone to pay dear for experience.

The inevitable consequence of the absence of a national institution to regulate the immense currency and exchange of the country, is, that it will be controlled, regulated, and governed by a few private bankers. Yea, sir, brokers, your Rothchilds and Barings. They will purchase up a few local banks, spread themselves in the principal towns, and acting in concert, will coil round the wealthy and large operators by doing their exchange at low rates of premium; but the life-blood of small dealers and the necessitous will be constantly drawn to their coffers, and it would not be marvellous if in some reverse of times, these gentry should enact such a frightful breaking up of monied institutions as was perpetrated in New York in 1826.

The vast extent of our country and the magnitude of its increasing wealth, present a most inviting field for a few insatiate brokers under the protection of law, but not controlled by law within any limits as to rates of premium or extent of business. Although our Government is beyond the reach of indebtedness to such lordlings as make the monarchs of Europe tremble, yet, leave them unchecked by a national institution, and they will easily acquire such

an entire control over the monied system as to enable them to oppress the people at their pleasure, and thus to endanger our inestimable liberties.

Finally, sir, if the foregoing views are, as I firmly believe, incontrovertible, it follows that a national bank is indispensable to the true interests of the country. And it is most respectfully submitted whether it is not expedient for Congress forthwith to charter a bank to occupy the place of the existing objectionable institution, provided it is competent for Congress to do so before the expiration of the present charter ; and if it is not, that they do satisfy public sentiment by indicating their disposition to charter a bank hereafter. If the plain construction of the constitution confers upon the Government the power to use local banks to facilitate its fiscal operations, and provided Congress is not authorised to establish a bank in either State, it is submitted whether it is not expedient forthwith to locate a national bank in the district of Columbia, and that it be restricted in its charter so as to prevent a recurrence of the evils that have been experienced. Suppose it be restricted as to the rates of its domestic exchange, and to five per cent. interest upon its loans ; and also to discounting paper not having over four months to run. And suppose also it be prohibited from issuing any bank notes of a less denomination than twenty dollars, and that it be prohibited from establishing any branches in the States without assigning a permanent amount of capital to each branch, and obtaining the consent of the State Legislature in each case.

A RETIRED MERCHANT,
Who never owned a Share in any Bank
New York, 8. Feb. 1834.

Such is the American news. It is impossible for me not to express my satisfaction upon the receiving of it. My correspondent, who well understands these matters, and who was with me in LONG ISLAND, when we read and laughed at the report which produced PEEL'S BILL, assures me that the President will succeed in the total destruction of the

accursed paper-money, which is now rendered the more necessary, in consequence of our measures *with regard to negro-slavery*. A convulsion, such as the paper-money must have produced, first or last, if not arrested in its progress, would have rendered the danger extreme in those States to which the slavery of the blacks is absolutely necessary. Our measures (malignantly merciful) must necessarily make a stir in those slave States. There is no danger from that stir, unless in case of convulsion produced by some other cause. It was, therefore, necessary to guard against that other cause ; and that cause is guarded against by the demolition of the paper-money ; and, now, let the "*humane*" gentry congratulate themselves on their achievement. We had a right, no doubt, to be urged on by the cracked-skull county of York ; we had a right to make a new debt of twenty millions, in order to make our negroes free ; we had a right to do this, without consulting the United States ; and the United States had a right to abolish paper-money without consulting us ; and without consulting the cracked-skull county of York. Thus this matter rests ; and we shall see, in the sequel, which party will sustain the least injury. In conclusion, let me observe, that a short time, comparatively, will show us, that he is the wisest man who relies least upon paper-money, stocks, funds, shares, or any thing dependent upon the duration of this present system ; for, by the time that hard money has been completely restored to the United States, this system must give way, and then we shall see whether Lord ALTHORP can keep on the malt-tax ; and whether the two bishops and the pack of newspaper *reporters* will enable him (by the bill that he is about to bring in) to raise fifty millions a year in gold.

SENSE.

The following account of proceedings of the industrious classes at NEW YORK will show that they have sense ; that they can perceive how they are robbed

by the rag-rooks. This article shows, too, that the President has the democracy with him; so that no man can doubt of the approaching total destruction of the paper-monster in that free and happy country.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*).

On Wednesday evening of last week, a public meeting of the opponents of paper-money was held at the Shakspeare Hotel, Fulton-street, "to express their opinion in relation to the measures of the administration with regard to the United States Bank, and concerning the further measures necessary to restore the constitutional currency.

Mr. WILLIAM H. HALE was called to the chair, and Mr. John Windt was appointed secretary. The call of the meeting was then read, and some remarks in relation to it from the *Working Man's Advocate*, when several resolutions having been handed to the chairman, a committee of five was appointed to select from the resolutions offered such as they might think proper to present to the meeting. The committee having retired for this purpose, a gentleman present read Cobbett's "Introduction" to his republication in England of the new work of Mr. Gouge on *Banking and Paper Money in the United States*.

The committee reported resolutions, which were read, collectively; and then, on motion, were read separately, and carried unanimously. The following are the resolutions, together with the remarks made by the different speakers on the second reading of them:

Whereas money, or the standard of value, is one of the most important objects confided to the care of government, and being so intimately connected with civil and political interests, it is the life-blood of the community, the purity and stability of which are of the utmost consequence to society, particularly of that portion to which we belong, the performers of useful labour, the producers of the real wealth of the nation; and whereas there appears to be an idea prevailing that this class of citizens are

not aware of the true cause of much of the injustice and oppression they suffer, while on the contrary, we feel satisfied there is scarcely an intelligent labouring man but knows that a great portion of the burdens he endures flows from an unconstitutional, false, and deeply injurious system of paper-money, and a train of evils it has engendered. Now, therefore, wishing to call the attention of Congress to our case, not to grant us favours or privileges, but to reinstate us in our rights, we ask leave to be heard in the following resolutions, authenticated by our chairman and secretary:

Resolved, That the course pursued by the President of the United States, and the administration of the general Government, in changing the place for depositing the public money, is entitled to, and has, our entire approbation, and our greatest gratitude. That the charter of the Bank of the United States, was granted in violation of the very plainest injunctions of our constitution, and, were there no other reasons than this for its speedy annihilation, the administration would have been faithless in the discharge of the duties confided to them had they failed to take this step towards its entire destruction.

Resolved, That as no money is recognised by the constitution but gold and silver, no other can be legally received in payment of Government dues, nor disbursed by officers or agents of Government, and that the countenance given to fictitious money by a contrary practice, has been an essential cause of flooding the country with a paper currency, which is not only worthless, and fluctuating in itself, but has caused a great depreciation in the value of real money (as much as could have been caused by allowing the States to issue debased coin), and nullifies the power of Congress "to regulate the currency," while it forces the people into subjection and slavery to a paper-money aristocracy, the baneful effects of which they are at this moment suffering under.

Resolved, That in order to restore the country to its honest circulating medium, it is the duty of Congress to adopt early and efficient measures to prevent

those numerous violations of the constitution by corporations and individuals, who, with their system of issuing "bills of credit," destroy the standard of value, inflict the most serious evils on the industry of the nation, its moral and social welfare, and sap the foundation of its liberties.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the proposition in Congress to require that the state banks temporarily intrusted with the public deposits, be directed to pay all the treasury drafts in specie.

Resolved, That it is expedient for Congress to establish sub-treasury-offices in the principal cities and towns in the United States, for the receipt and disbursement of revenue and the accommodation of the public in the transmission of money from one point to another, by receiving specie in deposit and giving a cheque or draft for the amount, (so framed, however, as not to enter into the circulation), on payment of a slight per centage; the officers to be elected annually by the people, but responsible to, and under the control of, the treasury department; the funds not to be loaned.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Messrs. Benton, Reeves, and Wright, of the senate, Mr. Cambeleng, of the house, and the other members of Congress who have so opportunely proposed measures for restoring the constitutional currency.

Resolved, That the senators and representatives in the legislature of this State be earnestly requested not to grant any of the one hundred and five petitions for charters of new banks, nor any for the increase of bank capitals, that are now pending before that body, "and that they be requested to co-operate with the general administration in getting rid of the paper-money now authorised by this State, contrary to the Federal constitution."

Resolved, That copies of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to each of the members of Congress, and that the public papers be requested to publish the same.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at BOLT-COURT at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the *WOODLANDS*, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, 9d. a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. — ITALIAN CLOVER SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in

corning that I ever saw in my life ; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Kale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.

45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BATTIE, W., Sheffield, silver-plater.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

FERRERS, T. B., and L. J. Mackintosh, Copthall-court, Throgmorton-street, stock-brokers.

BANKRUPTS.

CLARK, R., High Holborn, woollen-draper.
CRITCHFIELD, S., Norwich, haberdasher.
HOWARD, J., Ripon, Yorkshire, scrivener.
PAREZ, L., BRIGHTHELMSTONE, Sussex, print-seller.
PARRY, J., Leeds, hatter.
PAYNE, T., Old Quebec-street, dealer in horses.
POWELL, E., Ipswich, Suffolk, money-scrivener.
RICHARDSON, J., and R. Mansfield, Brownlow-street, Holborn, tailors.
SHAW, T., and B. Wild, Charlesworth, Derbyshire, cotton-spinners.
SMITH, J., Sun Tavern-fields, Shadwell, hosier.
STANFORTH, H., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.
TANNER, A. T., Howford-buildings, Fenchurch-street, bill-broker.
THOMAS, B., Narbeth, Pembrokeshire, merchant.
TURNER, W. R., Great Dover-road, Newington, carver.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BARLAS, J., Airdrie, surgeon.
M'VICAR, A., Rothsay, ship-owner.

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BEECRAFT, E. A., Curzon-street, May-fair, embroiderer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BROWN, G. A., Dockhead, Shad-Thames, baker.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

WHITESIDE, J., Whitehaven, Cumberland, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CAWTHRON, J., Bolingbroke-row, Walworth, oilman.

CLARKE, P., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.

GARNER, S., Liscard, Cheshire, innkeeper.

JENSON, T., Coventry, druggist.

JONES, J., Plasnewydd, Caermarthenshire, cattle-salesman.

JONES, T., Birmingham, collar-maker.

KNOWLES, E., Barking, Essex, grocer.

LOWE, P., Upton, Cheshire, merchant.

PARR, J., Hartlebury, Worcestershire, corn-dealer.

PARRY, F., Brighton, tailor.

STOCKER, G., High-street, Whitechapel, grocer.

WARLAND, T., Steward-street, Spitalfields, silk-manufacturer.

WATKEYS, D., Swansea, Glamorganshire, dealer.

WIGHT, H., Sunderland, Durham, grocer.

WRIGHT, T., Northallerton, Yorkshire, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HANDYSIDE, T. P., Edinburgh, wine-merchant.

LEGATE and Watt, Glasgow, merchants.

M'DOUGALL, P. and J., Glasgow, calico-printers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 17.—Since Friday we have been rather liberally supplied with Wheat and Barley. The principal portion of the samples of the former article were from Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire. At the beginning of the market the finer qualities of Wheat were taken at the currency of last Monday; but the secondary and inferior parcels hung heavily on hand at a decline of 1s. per qr. from this day week, and the trade again closed with a heavy aspect. No inquiry was experienced for Corn in bond.

Fine Malting qualities of Barley realized the terms of this day se'nnight, a fair demand. Chevalier, except superfine, met a limited inquiry, though prices were nominally the same. The distillers still refraining from purchasing, rendered distilling samples very dull. Grinding sorts were also difficult of disposal at previous prices.

Malt continues dull, but prime parcels unaltered in value.

Oats experienced a slow sale at the cur-

rency of last week, and stale sorts, though offered lower, were nearly unsaleable.

Beans met little inquiry.

White Peas heavy sale; maple dull, and rather cheaper; and grey Peas saleable at fully last week's rates.

It was generally expected that Flour would to-day have declined 5s. per sack; at the close of the market, however, the point was left undecided, and quotations of town-made must be considered at 45s. to 48s.; ship marks, 34s. to 38s. per sack. There is little doubt, however, that next Monday the top quotation will be 45s.

Wheat	45s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	22s. to 24s.
— fine	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	30s. to 36s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 37s.
— Tick	27s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new 95s. to 100s.

— Mess, new ... 55s. to 57s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast ... 74s. to 78s. per cwt.

— Carlow ... 66s. to 80s.

— Cork ... 66s. to 62s.

— Limerick .. 62s. to 64s.

— Waterford .. 60s. to 72s.

— Dublin ... 50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, March 17.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was moderately good, especially as to quality; the supply of Calves, Lambs, and Porkers, limited. Trade was, throughout, rather dull, with Beef at a depression of about 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Herefords, and Irish beasts, with about 100 Town's-end Cows, about fifty Sussex Beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to two of the latter; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 200, were chiefly Dorsets.

About 1,500 of the beasts, in about equal numbers of Devons, Scots, and short-horns,

with a few Norfolk home-breds, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 250, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and Scots, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 180, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts, Devons, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 21.

The arrivals this week are small; but the market is dull at the prices of Monday.

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